

Message Text

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PAGE 01 USUN N 06902 190213Z

64

ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 AF-06 ARA-06 EA-07 NEA-10

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 OMB-01 /100 W

----- 092225

P R 182312Z DEC 75

FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5131

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMMBBASSY PARIS 3145

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 6902

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNGA, GQ, NAC

SUBJ: 30TH UNGA: GUAN AND DECOLONIZATION RESOLUTIONS -NATO

1. SUMMARY: THE FOLLOWING CABLE HIGHLIGHTS THE NOTABLE LACK OF REACTION BY NATO MEMBERS TO THE RESOLUTIONS GUAM, OMNIBUS DECOLONIZATION AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION ON DECOLONIZATION AND RECOMMENDS THAT THIS PROBLEM BE RAISED IN AN APPROPRIATE NATO FORUM. END SUMMARY.

2. OTHER THAN THE U.S., WHICH VOTED AGAINST ALL THREE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 06902 190213Z

RESOLUTIONS, FRG, LUXEMBOURG AND THE UK WERE THE ONLY NATO

COUNTRIES TO VOTE AGAINST THE GUAM RESOLUTION.
WE WERE ONLY NATO COUNTRY TO VOTE AGAINST THE OMNIBUS DECOLONIZATION
RESOLUTION WHICH APPROVED COMMITTEE OF 24 REPORT WHICH ATTACKED
VARIOUS MEMBERS AND WHICH CHARGED NATO ITSELF WITH MILITARY
COLLABORATION AND ALLIANCE WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND WITH "MASSIVE
ASSISTANCE" TO SMITH GOVERNMENT OF RHODESIA IN "AIRCRAFT,
TANKS AND LIGHT WEAPONS." FRG, UK AND LUXEMBOURG ABSTAINED
AND BELGIUM, THE NETHERLANDS AND FRANCE ABSTAINED ON BOTH
THE GUAM AND OMNIBUS DECOLONIZATION RESOLUTIONS. CANADA,
DENMARK, GREECE, ICELAND, ITALY, NORWAY AND TURKEY
ABSTAINED ON THE GUAM RESOLUTION BUT VOTED IN FAVOR OF THE
OMNIBUS RESOLUTION. PORTUGAL VOTED FOR BOTH. ALL
OTHER NATO MEMBERS, EXCEPT FRANCE, WHICH ABSTAINED, VOTED
FOR THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION ON DECOLONIZATION
RESOLUTION.

3. THE FOLLOWING NATO MEMBERS EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS IN
EXPLANATIONS OF VOTE AFTER THE VOTE ON THE OMNIBUS
DECOLONIZATION RESOLUTION:

A. CANADIAN REP (BAUDOUIN) SPECIFICALLY RESERVED ON CHAPTERS
V AND VI (WHICH CONTAINED BULK OF THE OFFENSIVE LANGUAGE);

B. NORWEGIAN REP (VRAALSEN), SPEAKING AS WELL FOR DENMARK,
FINLAND, ICELAND, AND SWEDEN, "DID NOT AGREE WITH EVERY
PART" OF THE REPORT;

C. UK REP (RICHARDSON) CHARACTERIZED THE WORK OF SUB-
COMMITTEE I (CHAPTERS V AND VI) AS CONTAINING "SUCH A HOTCH-
POTCH OF WILD AND UNFOUNDED ALLEGATIONS THAT MY DELEGATION
HAS NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO TREAT THEM WITH CONTEMPT;"

D. ITALIAN REP (BENUZZI) RESERVED HIS RIGHT TO FOCUS AT SOME
LATER TIME ON SPECIFIC PASSAGES OF THE REPORT OF THE
SPECIAL COMMITTEE WHICH ITALY CANNOT ACCEPT. (COMMENT:
THIS MEANS SIMPLY THAT ITALY WILL NOT SAY ONE WORD MORE ABOUT
THESE GROSS ACCUSATIONS AGAINST NATO, NOT TO MENTION U.S. AND
OTHER ALLIES OF ITALY);

E. GERMAN REP (VON UTHMANN) EXPRESSED STRONG RESERVATIONS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 06902 190213Z

TO BOTH CHAPTER V AND VI:

F. FRENCH REP (DE LATAILLADE) EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ON
CHAPTERS V AND VI;

G. GREEK REP (RETALIS) EXPRESSED RESERVATION ON CERTAIN
UNIDENTIFIED PASSAGES OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

4. WHILE THE GUAM RESOLUTION DOES NOT EXPLICITLY ATTACK NATO, IT "STRONGLY DEPRECATED" THE U.S. THE OMNIBUS DECOLONIZATION AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION ON DECOLONIZATION RESOLUTIONS APPROVE CHAPTERS OF THE REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON DECOLONIZATION WHICH SPECIFICALLY ATTACK NATO, U.S. AND OTHER INDIVIDUAL NATO MEMBERS AND WHICH CALL FOR WORLD-WIDE DISSEMINATION OF THE INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THOSE CHAPTERS.

5. COMMENT: THE SORRY RECORD DESCRIBED ABOVE GIVES RISE TO SERIOUS QUESTIONS. HERE IS A RESOLUTION APPROVING ATTACKS ON NATO AND FALSE ALLEGATIONS ABOUT THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE AND ABOUT INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS. ALL KNOW THEM TO BE FALSE, INCLUDING THOSE WHO WROTE THE REPORT. YET OF THE FIFTEEN MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE ONLY WE VOTED AGAINST THE FALSEHOODS, SIX MEMBERS FOUND THE COURAGE TO ABSTAIN BUT EIGHT VOTED WITH OUR ADVERSARIES TO DENOUNCE US AND THEMSELVES. WITH THE SOLE EXCEPTION OF THE U.S., THE ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP OF THE ALLIANCE VOTED TO ENCOURAGE WORLD-WIDE DISSEMINATION OF THESE CHARGES. THE PRESENT LUNATIC ATMOSPHERE OF THE GA ENVELOPES US ALL.

6. ONE MIGHT WELL ASK WHAT IS AN ALLIANCE FOR. HOW MUCH STRENGTH IS LEFT TO AN ORGANIZATION WHICH DOES NOT EVEN HAVE THE GUTS TO DEFEND ITS OWN GOOD NAME? HAVE THE EUROPEAN, AND CANADIAN, MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE THOUGHT THIS THING THROUGH? IF WE ARE TO BE CONDEMNED FOR THINGS WE DO NOT DO -- I.E., NATO AID TO SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA -- THEN WHAT IS THE POINT OF NOT DOING THEM? WHY BOTHER WITH EMBARGOES WHEN WE FREELY ACCEPT ALLEGATIONS THAT THERE ARE NO EMBARGOES?

7. FOR TOO MANY OF OUR ALLIES IT IS EASY TO COWER IN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 USUN N 06902 190213Z

SILENCE AND HOPE TO AVOID NOTICE WHILE THE PRINCIPAL MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE IS BEING ATTACKED. IT, AFTER ALL, CAN TAKE CARE OF ITSELF, SO THE JUSTIFICATION GOES. BUT HERE ALL MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE ARE CONDEMNED AND ALL JOIN HAPPILY IN CONDEMNING THEMSELVES.

8. THE VOTES ON THE GUAM AND DECOLONIZATION RESOLUTIONS SHOWED A WIDE GAP IN JUDGMENT BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ITS ALLIES ON THE HANDLING OF THESE ISSUES. THE U.S. CHOSE TO TAKE THE WORDING SERIOUSLY AND CONTEST IT; OUR ALLIES PREFERRED NOT TO, MOST TO PRETEND IT WASN'T THERE. THIS IS SYMPTOMATIC OF OUR DIFFERENCES IN APPROACH TO THE UNITED NATIONS TODAY AND DESERVES SOME SERIOUS STUDY.

9. RECOMMENDED ACTION: DEPENDING, OBVIOUSLY, ON THE

DEPARTMENT'S JUDGMENT AND HIS OWN, WE STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT AMBASSADOR BRUCE TAKE THIS UP AT A FORMAL MEETING WITH HIS NATO COLLEAGUES. ON SUCH AN OCCASION HE MIGHT WISH TO MAKE TWO POINTS WHICH CAN PERHAPS MORE READILY BE SAID TO NATO AMBASSADORS THAN TO UN AMBASSADORS. THE FIRST POINT -- AND IT CALLS UPON AMBASSADOR BRUCE'S DELICACY IN SUCH MATTERS, IS THAT THERE IS SOMETHING SUSPECT ABOUT THE EUROPEAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE ANTICS OF THEIR FORMER COLONIES. THEY FIND IT RATHER TOO EASY (AT LEAST IN OUR VIEW) TO TAKE AN IMPLICIT ATTITUDE THAT "THESE PEOPLE" REALLY AREN'T GROWN UP, DON'T YOU KNOW, AND SHOULDN'T BE EXPECTED TO ACT IN RESPONSIBLE WAYS. THE UNITED STATES MISSION TAKES THE VIEW THAT HERE IN NEW YORK WE DEAL WITH MATURE, ACCREDITED REPRESENTATIVES WHO ARE CARRYING OUT THE FOREIGN POLICIES OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS. DOWN IN WASHINGTON, DEEP IN THE SYSTEM, IT IS NO DOUBT PAINFUL TO HAVE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THESE POLICIES ARE ANTI-AMERICAN, BUT WE MANAGE TO LIVE WITH IT UP HERE, AND ARE RATHER SUSPICIOUS OF THE WELL KNOWN PSYCHOLOGICAL MECHANISM OF IDENTIFYING WITH THE AGGRESSOR (E.G., OUR RECENT CABLE ON THE TANZANIAN CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF TWENTY-FOUR.) IN ANY EVENT, THERE IS A SECOND POINT. HERE IN NEW YORK WE ARE INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE EXTENT OF TRUE COMMITMENT TO OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID POLICIES AND SUCH LIKE. WE FIND THE DOMESTIC POLICIES OF SOUTH AFRICA TO BE ABOMINABLE. WE WANT TO OPPOSE THEM. AND IN THAT MEASURE WE ARE APPALLED THAT THE

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 05 USUN N 06902 190213Z

UNITED NATIONS IS PREPARED TO ADOPT A DOCUMENT WHICH ENDORSES THE OUTRIGHT LIE THAT NATO IS PROVIDING "MASSIVE MILITARY ASSISTANCE" TO RHODESIA AND HELPING SOUTH AFRICA. DOESN'T ANYBODY SEE THAT THIS IS THE PROCESS BY WHICH MORAL MEANING IS DRAINED FROM SUCH A COMMITMENT? IT IS THE SAME THING WE DID WHEN WE DECLARED ZIONISM TO BE A FORM OF RACISM, WHICH IS TO SAY WE DRAINED THE WORD RACISM OF ITS MEANING. THIS IS MORAL INSANITY. BUT IT MAKES SENSE TO A LOT OF COUNTRIES, AND WE SHOULD PROTEST BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COLONIALISM, REPORTS, DEPENDENCIES, UNGA RESOLUTIONS, MEETING VOTING RECORDS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 DEC 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: SmithRJ
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975USUNN06902
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750440-1167
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751230/aaaaazxm.tel
Line Count: 212
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: SmithRJ
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30 APR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <06 OCT 2003 by SmithRJ>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: 30TH UNGA: GUAN AND DECOLONIZATION RESOLUTIONS -NATO
TAGS: PFOR, GQ, UNGA, NAC
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006